Hungarians facilitated in residual Slovakia, which had gained autonomy from Prague, the arrival of a regime headed by Jozef Tiso that was intolerant of all differences (Jews, Gypsies, Hungarians or Freemasons) and intent on imposing a Fascist model of state.

Czechoslovakia: Transcarpathia (*Csilla Fedinec*)

After the first Transcarpathian governor, Gregory Zhatkovych, resigned, his successors – Anton Beszkid (Anton Beskyd) (1923–1933) and then Konstantin Hrabar (1935–1938) – were still appointed by Prague. Fulfillment of the repeated promise that this was a temporary arrangement until autonomy continued to be postponed. Transcarpathia was needed mainly for strategic reasons of access to the other Little Entente countries (Romania and thereby Yugoslavia), it being in the Little Entente's interest to keep Hungary surrounded.

The governorship was the only difference in public administration between Transcarpathia and the rest of Czechoslovakia, after it had been declared a province of the republic in 1928. Elsewhere there was a uniform two-tier system of local and district offices, but in Transcarpathia there remained a governor's office, attached to the provincial governor (known colloquially as the national governor).[39] The head of the National Office was Antonín Rožypal from 1928 to 1937, after which the post was left vacant due to the "imminent introduction" of autonomy, and the regular tasks were carried out by the national vice-president, Jaroslav Meznik. Uzhhorod (Slovak: Užhorod; the center of the territory) and Mukacheve (Slovak: Mukačevo) retained the rank of incorporated cities, but Berehove (Slovak: Berehovo), the one Transcarpathian city to keep its Hungarian majority throughout the century, was demoted to a large civil parish. According to the 1930 census returns, the population of Transcarpathia exceeded 750,000, of whom almost 450,000 were Rusyns (Ukrainians or Russians), about 110,000 were Hungarians, and 91,000 were Jews. In their religious affiliation, about 50 percent were Greek Catholic, 15 percent Orthodox, 15 percent Jewish, 10 percent Reformed, and 10 percent Roman Catholic.[40]

The first practical move towards the promised autonomy came in 1937, with an act defining the powers of the governor.[41] The autonomy act followed on November 22, 1938,[42] but its form was affected by the war situation, with the public demanding autonomy on national lines, in other words demanding that Transcarpathia should be declared a Rusyn autonomous area.

The official explanations for postponing autonomy usually cited the territory's backwardness and poverty. An attempt to alleviate the poverty had been made at the turn of the century in a so-called Highland Economic Campaign headed by Ede Egan. Transcarpathia certainly was the most backward corner of pre-1918 Hungary and then of the whole East-Central European region. It remained so despite success in the Czechoslovak period in reducing illiteracy. The land reform, on the other hand, did not have the desired results. The stratum of officials consisted almost wholly of immigrant Czechs. "Czech settlements" were placed on the old great estates. Almost 70 percent of the population worked in agriculture and forestry, with hardly any small or large-scale industry (about 10 percent) or commerce (about 5 percent). There was a long tradition of winemaking and beekeeping. Flooding was a constant problem, especially in 1933.

The most obvious changes after Transcarpathia's annexation to Czechoslovakia were in infrastructural development and construction. Paved roads and bridges were built, and there were extensive water regulation works, along with several construction projects in cities. The Galagó district was added to Uzhhorod/Užhorod in Czech constructivist style. Hospitals went up in Mukacheve/Mukačevo, Berehove/Berehovo and Vynohradiv (Slovak: Sevľuš), and a gymnasium (high school) was built in Khust (Slovak: Chust). Solotvyno (Slovak: Slatinské Doly) underwent planned development.[43]

The Hungarian parties in interwar Transcarpathia got little further than defining themselves and establishing relations with each other. After 1927, there were no exclusively Transcarpathian parties, as they operated only as district organizations of national (Czechoslovak) parties up to the turn of events in 1938, when

there was a ban, followed by conversion into the "Highlands." The two exclusively Transcarpathian parties in the 1920s were the Hungarian Party of Law (1920–1922, chaired by Endre Korláth, publishing the *Ruszinszkói Magyar Hírlap* and later the *Ungvári Közlöny*)[44] and the Autonomous Party of the Indigenous (1921–1927, chaired by Ákos Árky, publishing the *Ruszinszkói Magyar Hírlap*).[45] The other parties operated as *Transcarpathian* branches of so-called national parties, which sought to maintain vestiges of a separate political complexion, mainly for reasons of financing. These were the Christian Socialist Party (1920–1936, chaired by István Kerekes, publishing the *Kárpáti Napló*, later the *Határszéli Újság*), and the Smallholders', Artisans' and Agriculturalists' Party (1921–1926, after which it became the Hungarian National Party, chaired by Ferenc Egry, publishing the *Beregi Hírlap* and later the *Kárpáti Magyar Gazda*).[46] From 1920 to 1936, the Hungarian parties operating in Transcarpathia were grouped in the Hungarian Party Association chaired by Endre Korláth (publishing the *Ruszinszkói Magyar Hírlap*, later the *Kárpáti Magyar Hírlap*). This lost its function when the Christian Socialists and the Hungarian National Party merged as the United Hungarian Party in 1936. On March 15, 1940, the United Hungarian Party was declared to be dissolved, or rather subsumed into the Hungarian Party of Life (established by Pál Teleki in 1939 and in government in Hungary until March 1944).[47]

The Hungarian parties in Transcarpathia cooperated closely with the eponymous Hungarian parties in Slovakia, but as separate entities, not parts of a uniform national organization. The Hungarian parties made an electoral alliance with the German parties of Slovakia. The main figures in Hungarian politics included Endre Korláth, Ferenc Egry and Károly Hokky (Charles J. Hokky). The public role of Egry, a respected senator and a famous bell-founder, was enhanced, as many church bells had been melted down to make guns in the war, and he could use the social occasion of consecrating new ones to make speeches encouraging people to take heart. These Hungarian parties and the Rusyn ones pressing strongly for autonomy received regular financial support from official sources in Hungary.

An appreciable part was also played by the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, which opposed autonomy but made strong social demands. It set up youth organizations and "red" trade unions, organized hunger strikes in the early 1930s, and began in the mid-1930s to campaign strongly against fascism. It came to the republic's defense during the crisis of 1938, as the only party to embrace all ethnic groups, and oriented itself towards the Soviet Union. Its Hungarian-language paper was the *Munkás Újság*.

Election results in the 1920s show that some 70 percent of voters in Transcarpathia supported the working-class parties (as opposed to about half nationally). The centralist parties had more support than those demanding autonomy, and this stayed largely unchanged. The Communists consistently polled more votes in Hungarian-inhabited districts than the Hungarian parties did.[48] However, irredentist movements gained strength during the depression at the turn of the 1920s and 1930s. Official Hungarian government support for Hungarian politics in Transcarpathia came through the Center for Alliance of Social Associations[49] or directly through the Prime Minister's Office or the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Separate support went to the autonomist Rusyn parties, notably the Autonomous Agriculturalists' Association[50] headed by Iván Kurtyák (Ivan Kurtiak) and then András Bródy (Andrej Brody).[51] The united indigenous demands for autonomy were broken in 1938 by the idea of Hungarian national autonomy, whose main exponent was the Hungarian National Party, although the same politicians rejected all forms of autonomy after Hungary overran Transcarpathia in 1939. There were several Hungarian papers appearing in Transcarpathia during the Czechoslovak period, including the *Ruszinszkói Magyar Hírlap* (later *Kárpáti Magyar Hírlap*), *Határszéli Újság*, *Az Őslakó*, *Kárpátalja*, *Kárpáti Híradó*, *Kárpáti Magyar Gazda* and *Munkás Újság*, almost all with clear political affiliations.

Most Hungarians in Transcarpathia belonged to the Reformed Church, with some Roman and Greek Catholics,[52] the latter being organized into the Greek Catholic Diocese of Mukacheve/Mukačevo. Under an agreement between the Czechoslovak government and the Vatican, that and the Diocese of Prešov were

removed from the Province of Esztergom, to which they had belonged since September 1918, and temporarily placed directly under the Apostolic See, although the former was returned to Esztergom in the summer of 1939. In 1921, the twelve parishes of the former Diocese of Ung remaining in Transcarpathia expressed a wish to split off as a separate Diocese of Transcarpathia. On October 31, 1922, the formation of the Transcarpathian Reformed Diocese was declared, and it was recognized soon afterwards by the first legislative synod of the Combined Reformed Church of Slovakia and Transcarpathia. This was followed on December 16, 1925, by the first ordination of Reformed clergy to have taken place in Transcarpathia since the war. The diocese received official state recognition in 1932.

Authority over Roman Catholic parishes in this part of Czechoslovakia was exercised by the bishop of Satu Mare in Romania. A movement began in Transcarpathia in 1928 to have a separate Roman Catholic bishopric for the territory. In 1929 the Holy See concluded a concordat with Romania whereby the ordinary authority of Satu Mare over the Transcarpathian parts of the diocese ceased, and in 1930 it ended the authority of Satu Mare, passing it to a Transcarpathian Roman Catholic Apostolic Governorship.

The Czechoslovak Republic inherited in Transcarpathia elementary schools (with various languages of instruction), three gymnasia (in Užhorod, Mukačevo and Berehovo, teaching in Hungarian), a vocational middle school, and three teachers' training colleges (two in Užhorod and one in Mukačevo, teaching in Rusyn and Hungarian). These were under the authority of the schools department in Užhorod, although the governor had certain powers of appointment and administration. The elementary system was left largely unchanged. The civil schools were expanded but parallel classes teaching in Hungarian remained only in Užhorod and Mukačevo, and the time spent in such schools was reduced from four years to three in the 1930s, although an additional fourth year was made available in some places. The Hungarian classes were steadily run down in the Czechoslovak system's real gymnasia (the more practically oriented type of gymnasium, the other being

the human gymnasium) in Užhorod and Mukačevo, until the Hungarian language of instruction remained only in one place: the parallel classes of the bilingual real gymnasium in Berehovo. In addition, a bilingual Rusyn–Czech gymnasium opened in Khust, as well as a Jewish gymnasium in Mukačevo and, in the 1930s, a Hebrew gymnasium in Užhorod. Many Hungarian teachers lost their positions and their citizenship after the change of sovereignty. The so-called Small Schools Act stated that pupils in educational institutions were not obliged to attend religious education. The Library Act, on the other hand, had a beneficial effect, ensuring good supplies of Hungarian books to village and city public libraries.[53]

Transcarpathia had no prominent regional literary traditions. This was the region where literary thinking veered furthest away from the development path of Hungarian literature as a whole, into regional frames. Despite attempts to raise the literary standard, the regional awareness behind them remained a literary standard as such. It is not possible to draw a sharp line between Transcarpathian and Slovakian Hungarian literature in the 1920s and 1930s, apart from pointing to the peripheral state of the former. Yet it is not possible to omit this from the history of Hungarian literature, as it was an indispensable part of Transcarpathian awareness. The foremost writers included Árpád Fülöp, Pál Ilku, Margit Prerau, Pál Rácz, László Sáfáry, Menyhért Simon and Mihály Tamás. But Transcarpathia accounted for only a tiny proportion of over 2,000 Hungarian-language books published in Czechoslovakia. The main source, with about 25 publications, was the Kálvin Press in Berehovo, which belonged to the Transcarpathian Reformed Church.[54]

In the arts, the general opinion today is that the self-organizing activities of the local Hungarians under the Czechoslovaks were directed from Košice and other Slovakian cities. But the social and cultural organizations of Transcarpathia resembled the parties in emphasizing their autonomy and objected to attempts to incorporate them or influence them from Slovakia. There was an independent dramatic society in the 1920s that was merged in the 1930s with that of East Slovakia, to constant protests in

Transcarpathia. An independent Transcarpathian Hungarian Drama Patronage Society[55] was formed in Mukačevo in 1926. This ran acting courses and published a drama periodical for long or short periods (the *Színházi Újság*, later *Ruszinszkói Színházi Élet*). The members of the Transcarpathian Hungarian theater company often appeared in Budapest as unemployed actors looking for parts. The amateur societies presented work by local playwrights that later appeared in print. Interestingly, the press reports of the time suggest that amateur theatricals were important social occasions, arousing more momentary interest than the professional performances did. The commercial survival of the theater companies depended on the fluctuating audiences. The breakthrough often came by appealing to the national sentiments of the audience or by suggesting that these might be waning. So consumption of Hungarian culture became a means of professing one's ethnicity.[56]

The most successful of the Transcarpathian Hungarian cultural groups was the Mosaic Cultural Society, which became the Transcarpathian Hungarian Cultural Society in the 1930s, then the Literature and Drama Society in Berehovo.[57] There were also several larger and smaller local societies organizing innumerable events, evenings, commemorations, readings, evening classes and other occasions, even ice-cream afternoons. The most prestigious event on the Hungarian calendar was the Hungarian National Ball in Berehovo. There was mass participation in the gymnastics and sports associations, which were prominent cultural events as well. The Athletics Club in Užhorod started a flower carnival and election of a rose queen in 1926, long before Debrecen did. It was a matter of pride for a community to support a singing circle, and there was a "national" (Transcarpathian) review of them. These were hosted by Sevľuš, Berehovo, Mukačevo and Užhorod in the 1930s, while a children's song contest was held in Vylok (Slovak: Ujlak) and Berehovo. Beauty queen contests were already being held in the 1930s. In 1935 the Three Borders Community organized a march of several thousand to the Rákóczi Memorial Column in Tiszabecs, which was revived in the 1990s by the Transcarpathian Hungarian Cultural Association,

although it is now held at the restored Turul Statue in Vylok, which was destroyed in the 1920s. Young people were brought together in the Scout movement, the Transcarpathian Scout Federation founded in 1920 having Czech/Slovak, Rusyn/Ukrainian, Jewish and Hungarian sections. The latter was set up in 1923 by Ferenc Haba. There was another association for Transcarpathian students in higher education. There were freemasons' lodges in Užhorod and later (known as Pro Libertate) in Berehovo.[58]

One important arts event was the establishment in 1921 of the Artists' Club in Mukačevo (or Transcarpathian Painters' Club) under the painter Gyula Virágh. Then in 1931, József Boksay, Béla Erdélyi and the Czech painters Bedrich Oždian and Jaroslav Kaigl initiated the Podkarpatska Rus Artists' Association, of which Erdélyi remained president for many years. There were regular exhibitions in the province from 1921.[59] The big celebrations in 1922–1923 to mark the centenary of the birth of the Hungarian poet Sándor Petőfi initiated, according to Ferenc Sziklay, cultural secretary of the National Hungarian Party Association, "'minority' awareness and a sense of community among Slovakian and Transcarpathian Hungarians."[60] A reproduction of a full-length painting of Petőfi by Gyula Ijjász appeared in the Christmas 1922 supplement of the *Ruszinszkói Magyar Hírlap*. The works of Transcarpathian painters were exhibited in Paris in February 1938.

Yugoslavia (*Enikő A. Sajti*)

After the law on opting for citizenship expired, the Southern Region Hungarians became the last community in the successor states to enter formal politics. The Yugoslavian Hungarian Party[61] was founded at a congress in Senta on September 22, 1922, chaired by the physician Dr. György Sántha, who was elected president. The party never established branches in Baranja or Prekmurje, and the Catholic Hungarians of Novi Sad did not join either. In Prekmurje, there was a short-lived United Party of Prekmurje to represent local interests.[62]

39 M. Boldyzhar and P. Mosni, *Derzhavno-pravovyj status Zakarpattia (Pidkarpats'koi' Rusi) v skladi Chehoslovachchyny* [The Constitutional Situation of Transcarpathia (Subcarpathian Rus) within the Czechoslovak Republic] (Uzhhorod, 2001); L. Bianchi, ed., *Dejiny štátu a práva na území Československa v období kapitalizmu* [The History of State and Law in Czechoslovakia in the Period of Capitalism], Vol. II, 1918–1945 (Bratislava, 1973); Petr P. Sova, "Razvytie podkarpattorusskago obshhynnogo y oblastnogo samoupravlenija" [The Development of Public Administration in Transcarpathia], in E. Bachynskyj, ed., *Podkarpats'kaja Rus' 1919–1936* [Subcarpathian Rus 1919–1936] (Uzhhorod, 1936), pp. 68–70.

40 *Kárpátalja településeinek nemzetiségi (anyanyelvi) adatai 1880–1941* [National (Native-Language) Data for the Settlements of Transcarpathia 1880–1941] (Budapest, 1996). On specific ethnic groups: Miklós Rékai, *A munkácsi zsidók "terített asztala"* [The "Laid Table" of the Mukacheve Jews] (Budapest, 1997); Rudolf Jaworski, "Die deutschen Minderheiten in Polen und in der Tschechoslowakei während der Zwischenkriegszeit," *Österreichische Osthefte* (1991) 33: 251–268; Ivan Pop and Paul Robert Magocsi, *Encyclopedia of Rusyn History and Culture* (Toronto, 2002).

41 Act 172 on the powers of the governor of Transcarpathia. A Hungarian text appears in Csilla Fedinec, ed., *Iratok a kárpátaljai magyarság történetéhez 1918–1944. Törvények, rendeletek, kisebbségi programok, nyilatkozatok* [Documents on the History of Subcarpathian Hungarians 1918–1944. Laws, Orders, Minority Programs, Statements] (Somorja/Dunaszerdahely, 2004), pp. 405–407.

42 "328. Ústavní zákon o autonomii Podkarpatské Rusi. 329. Vyhláska o uplném zneni predpisu o autonomii Podkarpatské Rusi" [328. Constitutional Law on the Autonomy of Subcarpathian Rus. 329. Decree on the Consolidation of the Rule of Subcarpathian Rus's Autonomy]. In *Sbírka zákonů a nařízení státu cesko-slovenského,* Ročník 1938. Částka 109. Vydána dne 16. prosince 1938 [Official Gazette of the Czecho-Slovak State, Year of 1938. Issue 109. Issued on 16 December, 1938].

43 I. Granchak, ed., *Narysy istorii' Zakarpattia* [Essays on the History of Transcarpathia], Vol. II (Uzhhorod, 1995), pp. 448–454.

44 *Magyar Jogpárt.*

45 *Őslakosok Autonóm Pártja.*

46 *Keresztényszocialista Párt*; *Kisgazda-, Kisiparos és Földműves Párt.*

47 *Magyar Élet Pártja.* M. Tokar, *Politychni partii' Zakarpattia v umovah bagatopartijnosti (1919–1939)* [The Multi-Party System in Transcarpathia (1919–1939)] (Uzhhorod, 2006); Csilla Fedinec, "Magyar pártok Kárpátalján a két világháború között" [Hungarian Parties in Transcarpathia between the Two World Wars], *Fórum Társadalomtudományi Szemle* (2007) 1: 83–110; Aladár R. Vozáry, *A magyar és a magyar nyelvű újságírás a volt Csehszlovákiában. Adatok a magyar újságírás történetéhez* [Hungarian and Hungarian-Language Journalism in Czechoslovakia. Contributions to the History of Hungarian Journalism] (Munkács, 1942).

48 M. Tokar, *Politychni partii' Zakarpattia*, pp. 327–331.

49 *Társadalmi Egyesületek Szövetségének Központja.*

50 *Autonóm Földműves Szövetség.*

51 Béla Angyal, "A csehszlovákiai magyarság anyaországi támogatása a két világháború között" [Subsidies from the Parent Country for Czechoslovakia's Hungarians between the Two World Wars], *Regio* 11 (2000) 3: 133–178; Csilla Fedinec, "Kárpátaljai autonómia-koncepciók 1918–1944 között" [Transcarpathian Concepts of Autonomy 1918–1944], *Kisebbségkutatás* (2001) 3: 450–469.

52 József Kepecs and Zoltán Czibulka, eds., *Kárpátalja településeinek vallási adatai, 1880–1941* [Religious Data of Settlements of Transcarpathia, 1880–1941] (Budapest, 2000); István Bendász, *Részletek a Munkácsi Görög Katolikus Egyházmegye történetéből* [Details from the History of the Mukacheve Greek Catholic Diocese] (Uzhhorod, 1999); Fritz Peyer-Müller, *A Kárpátaljai Református Egyház története a két világháború között – kitekintéssel a jelenre* [The Interwar History of the Reformed Church in Transcarpathia, with a Glance at the Present] (Budapest, 1995); Zsuzsanna Pápai, ed., *Kárpátalja – Római katolikus templomok* [Transcarpathia – Roman Catholic Churches] (Munkács, 2003); István Csernicskó *et al.*, *Útközben. Tanulmányok a kárpátaljai magyarságról* [On the Road. Studies of the Transcarpathian Hungarians] (Ungvár, 1998); M. Palynchak, *Derzhavno-cerkovni vidnosyny na Zakarpatti ta v Shidnij Slovachchyni v 20 seredyni 30-h rokiv XX stolittja* [State–Church Relations in Transcarpathia and Eastern Slovakia in the 1920s and 1930s] (Uzhhorod, 1996); Csilla Fedinec, *A kárpátaljai magyarság*

történeti kronológiája 1918–1944 [The Historical Chronology of the Transcarpathian Hungarians 1918–1944] (Somorja/Dunaszerdahely, 2002).

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54 Balázs Keresztyén, *Irodalmi barangolások a Kárpátok alján* [Literary Rambles under the Carpathians] (Ungvár/Budapest, 1993). Balázs Keresztyén, *Kárpátaljai művelődéstörténeti kislexikon* [Pocket Dictionary of Transcarpathian Educational History] (Budapest, 2001); Gyula Alapy, "Kisebbségi irodalmunk tíz éve (1919–1928) és ennek könyvészete" [Ten Years of Minority Literature (1919–1928) and Its Book Production], in Ferenc Sziklay, ed., *Kazinczy Évkönyv 1898–1928* [Kazinczy Yearbook 1898–1928] (Kassa, 1929).

55 *Ruszinszkói Magyar Színpártoló Egyesület.*

56 Csilla Fedinec, "Magyar könyvkiadás és képzőművészet kapcsolata Kárpátalján (1918-tól napjainkig)" [The Connection of Hungarian Book Publishing and Fine Art in Subcarpathia (from 1918 to the Present Day)], in *Az elsüllyedt jelek. I. A 20. századi magyar könyvillusztráció Magyarország határain kívül 1918-tól napjainkig* [Sunken Signs I. Twentieth-Century Hungarian Book Illustration beyond Hungary's Borders from 1918 to the Present Day] (Budapest, 2003), pp. 138–171; Tamás Gajdó and Éva Balázs, *Magyar színháztörténet 1920–1949* [Hungarian Theater History 1920–1949] (Budapest, 2005); Ödön Faragó, *Írások és emlékek* [Writings and Memoirs] (Ungvár, 1933); Pál Rácz, "Kárpátalja magyar színészete" [Transcarpathian Hungarian Drama Production], *Magyar Írás* (1934) 6: 87–88; Ferenc Sziklay, "A magyar színjátszás Csehszlovákiában" [Hungarian Drama Production in Czechoslovakia], *Erdélyi Helikon* (1930) 670–672.

57 *Mozaik Kultúregyesület*; *Kárpátaljai Magyar Kultúr Egyesület*; *Irodalmi és Színpártoló Egyesület.*

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61 *Jugoszláviai Magyar Párt.*

62 *Egységes Muravidéki Párt.* László Göncz, *A muravidéki magyarság 1918–1941* [Prekmurje Hungarians 1918–1941] (Lendava, 2001), pp. 118–124.

63 *Szent Gellért Társaság*; *Társadalmi Egyesületek Szövetségének Központja.*

64 Enikő A. Sajti, *Hungarians in the Voivodina 1918–1947* (Boulder, CO/Highland Lakes, NJ, 2003), pp. 25–89; János Csuka, *A délvidéki magyarság története 1918–1941* [The History of Southern Region Hungarians 1918–1941] (Budapest, 1995), pp. 47–169; Lajos Arday, "A horvátországi magyarok története" [The History of Croatia's Hungarians], in *Fejezetek a horvátországi magyarok történetéből* [Chapters from the History of Hungarians in Croatia] (Budapest, 1994), pp. 9–42.

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